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Message Text

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21
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 OMB-01 SAM-01 SAJ-01

IO-11 OFA-01 /077 W
---------- 047325
O R 200620Z JAN 76
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6194
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
USLO PEKING
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 00796

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11/52 GDS
TAGS: PFOR, JA, UR
SUBJECT: GROMYKO VISIT: VISIT EMBASSY VIEW

REF: TOKYO 0679

SUMMARY: SOVIET EMBASSY PROVIDED US WITH UPBEAT APPRAISAL OF GROMYKO VISIT, DESCRIBING DISCUSSIONS AS CONSTRUCTIVE AND USEFUL. GROMYKO SATSIFIED WITH HAVING MAINTAINED HIGH-LEVEL DIALOGUE, DESPITE LACK OF CONCRETE PROGRESS. EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS IN HISTORY OF JAPAN-SOVIET RELATIONS. NO ONE LOST GROUND OR GAINED ON "SO CALLED TERRITORIAL QUESTIN" AND DISCUSSIONS ON FISHERIES SHOULD LEAD TO REDUCTION OF TENSION AND PRESSURE FOR GOJ EXPANSION OF TERRITORIAL WATERS. SOVIET APPRAISAL WAS ABOUT
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WHAT ONE WOULD EXPECT, GIVEN BAD PRESS BRONYKO RECEIVED.

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THERE NO QUESTIN THAT HE DID KEEP DIALOGUE GOING.
END SUMMARY.

1. SOVIET EMBASSY POLITICAL COUNSELOR KOMAROVSKY TOLD EMBOFF JAN 19 THAT GROMYKO VISIT, WHILE NOT AN EVENT THAT COULD BE DESCRIBED AS SUCCESS OR FAILURE, HAD BEEN "CONSTRUCTIVE," AND "USEFUL" FROM SOVIET POINT OF VIEW. THERE HAD BEEN NO CONCERETE PROGRESS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES, BUT SOVIETS HAD VALUED CHANCE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH JAPANESE ON WIDE RANGE OF QUESTIONS. JAPANESE PRESS HAD STRESSED BILATERAL MATTERS, BUT IN FACT MORE THAN SIXTY PERCENT OF TIME HAD BEEN DEVOTED TO DISCUSSSION OF INTERNATIONAL SCENE, INCLUDING, OF COURSE, CHINA. THIIS WAS FIRST TIME IN HISTORY OF JAPAN-SOVIET RELATIONS, KOMAROVSKY COMMENTED, THAT SUCH A LARGE PORTION OF HIGH-LEVEL TALKS HAD BEEN SPENT ON GLOBAL QUESTIONS. BREZHNEV AND TANAKA WORKED ON BILATERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT NINETY-FIVE PERCENT OF THE TIME IN 1973 AND MOST OF THE TALKS BETWEEN FONMIN MIYAZAWA AND GROMYKO IN 1975. DWELT ON ISSUES BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS.

2. DURING THE EXCHANGES ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS, FONMIN GROMYKO DID MOST OF THE TALKING, KOMAROVSKY CONTINUED. WHILE COGNIZANT OF THE PROBLEMS CURRENTLY INVOLVED IN THE PROGRESS OF DETENTE, GROMYKO WAS OPTIMISTIC OVER THE LONG RUN. HE MADE A POINT OF EXPLAINING TO JAPANESE HOW MUCH HE LOOKED FORWARD TO WELCOMING SECRETARY KISSINGER ON JAN 20 AND SAID HE WAS HOPEFUL THAT PROGRESS COULD BE ACHEIVED.

3. KOMAROVSKY'S DESCRIPTIONS TALLIED WITH JAPANESE ON THE SOVIET REACTION TO POSSIBLE JAPANESE CONCESSIONS ON THE HEGEMONY QUESTION TO PEKING. KOMARVSKY'S STRICTLY PERSONAL PREDICTION WAS THAT THE USSR WOULD SUSPEND PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE JAPANESE SHOULD THEY SIGN A TREATY WITH THE CHINESE THAT COULD BE INTERPTETED AS TARGETED AT THE SOVIET UNION.

4. ON BILATERAL QUESTIONS, KOMAROVSKY CONTINUED,. THERE HAD BEEN NO PROGRESS ON THE "SO CALLED TERRITORIAL
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ISSUE." BOTH SIDES HAD AGREED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS AND NEITHER HAD LOST ANYTING THEREBY. THE DISCUSSIONS ON FISHERIES MATTERS WERE PARTICULARLY THOROUGH AND CONSTRUCTIVE. BOTH SIDES HAD AGREED TO CONVENE THE GREIVNCE BOARD IN THE NEAR FUTURE, AND KOMARKVSKY GUESSED THAT SOVIET REPRENTATIVES MIGHT BE NAMED AND SENT TO TOKYO BY THE END OF JANUARY. HE BELEIVED THAT ONCE THE BOARD STARTED WORK, JAPANESE-SOVIET

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TENSIONS ON THE GOJ TO EXPAND JAPANS TERRITORIAL
SEAS TO TWELVE MILES.

5. KOMARKVSKY WAS DEFENSEIVE THROUGHOUT THE
CONVERSATION ABOUT THE WAY THE GROMYKO VISIT HAD BEEN
PORTRAYNED IN THE WORLD PRESS. NOTING THAT UPI HAD
REPORTED A DEPARTMENT OF STATE OFFICIAL ESPRESSING
SURPRISE THAT GROMYKO HAD COME TO JAPAN AT THIS TIME,
KOMAROVSKY SAID THE REASONS WERE OBVIOUS TO ANY ONE
WHO FOLLOWED SOVIET-JAPANA RELATIONS. GROMYKO HAD
PLEDGED TO CME TO JAPAN DURING 1975 DURING HIS
JANUARY TALKS WITH FONMIN MIYAZAWA AND JAPANESE SIDE
HAD REPEATEDLY PRESSED HIM TO FULFILL THAT PLEDGE.
THE JAPNAESE WERE INTERESTED IN HAVING GROMYKO COME IN
ORDER TO CONTINUE NEGIATIONS ON THE SO-CALLED
TERRITORIAL ISSUE AND TO ADOPT A POSTURE THAT WOULD BE
FAVORABLE TOWARD THE CHINESE. WHATEVER THE REASONS,
FONMIN GROMYKO HAD BEEN SATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS OF
THE VISIT AND THE CHANCE TO MAINTAIN A HIGH LEVEL
DIALOGUE WITH THE JAPANESE.

6. COMMENT: UPBEAT SOVIET ASSESSMENT IS ABOUT WHAT
ONE WOULD EXPECT, PARTICULARLY GIVEN NEGATIVE APPRAISLAS
FEATURED IN JAPANESE AND WORLD MEDIA. WE ARE NOT
FORGETTING, HOWEVER, THAT KOMAROVSKY' EMBASSY WAS
EXPRESSING DOUBTS ALL OVER TOWN LAST NOVEMBER AND UP
INTO EARLY DECEMBER JUST BEFORE ANNOUNCEMENT OF VISIT
MADE, THAT GROMYKO WOULD COME AT ALL. IMPLICATION IS
THAT FACTORS OTHER THAN JUST GROMYKO'S PLEDGE AND
JAPANESE URGING PROMPTED SOVIETS TO CHANGE MIND.
JAPANESE GUESS IS THAT SOVS WERE DISTURBED BY GROWING
EVIDENCE OF DEFACTO US-JAPAN-PRC ALIGNMENT IN
PACIFIC AND BECAME ANXIOUS BOTH TO GET FIRST-HAND
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FEEL FOR JAPANESE VIEWS AND TO GIVE GOJ THEIR OWN.
IF THIS ASSESSMENT IS ACCURATE, GROMYKO DID INDEED
SUCCEEED IN GAINING AN OBJECTIVE IN COMING TO TOKYO.
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